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Washington In Western Pennsylvania

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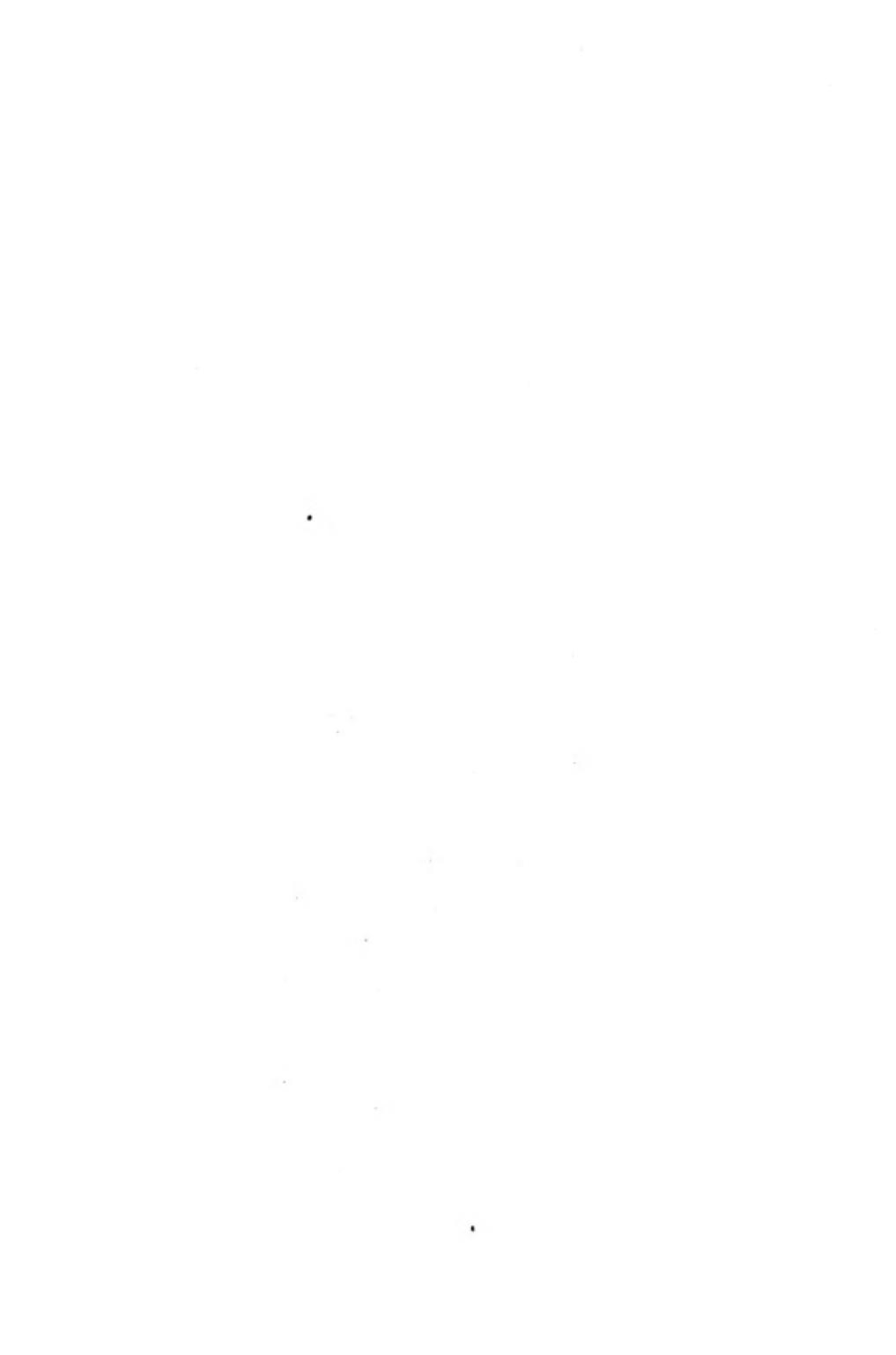
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Mrs Samuel Munroe
with Compliments of

Dr. Theodore Diller

September 15-17 16.



This story is dedicated to my children, in whom it is my strong desire to awaken and develop a love for local history.

P R E F A C E

THE story of Washington's visits to Western Pennsylvania was briefly retold by the author before a meeting of the Pennsylvania Society of Sons of the American Revolution held in Pittsburgh in the spring of 1916; and by an action of the Board of Managers of that organization it was, in its present and more amplified form, ordered to be published for circulation among its members. A few extra copies have been printed for general circulation and private distribution.

T. D.

Pittsburgh, July 1916.



THE FIRST PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON

Painted by Charles Willson Peale
at Mount Vernon, May 1772,

From the Original in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania

Presented by Charles L. Ogden

February 22nd, 1892.

**THE PLACE OF WASHINGTON IN THE HISTORY OF
WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA**

By **THEODORE DILLER**

PITTSBURGH

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W31815

INTRODUCTION

Washington made six visits to Western Pennsylvania: in 1753-1754-1755-1758-1770 and 1781; and on three of them he spent some time on the site of the City of Pittsburgh, viz.: in 1753, 1758, and 1770.

His first public service was his trip to Western Pennsylvania in 1753 as bearer of a letter from Governor Dinwiddie to Legardeur de la St. Pierre, the French commandant, at Venango. This and three subsequent visits to Western Pennsylvania—1754, 1755, 1758—all had to do with the matter of the contest between the English and French for the possession of the Ohio Valley.

To my mind, the most interesting of all Washington's visits, and the one which appeals to the imagination most, is his first visit, in 1753, when he carried Governor Dinwiddie's letter to the French commandant, warning the French out of the country of the Ohio Valley. At this time Washington was a youth of 21, inured to the life of the forest by four years' service as surveyor and adjutant-general of the Virginia Militia, which did much to fit him for the undertaking.

Before attempting to describe this journey, let us look at the course of events which had given rise to Governor Dinwiddie's demand, through his messenger, Washington, that the French should leave the country of the Ohio Valley.



MAP SHOWING THE TERRITORY CLAIMED BY FRANCE AND BY SPAIN
(ABOUT 1750 A. D.).

I.

THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH CLAIMS TO THE OHIO VALLEY

The French and English both claimed all the land watered by the Ohio river. The former based their claims chiefly on the discoveries of the early French explorers,—Marquette, La Salle, and Hennepin; while the latter based their claim upon the discoveries of the Cabots on the Atlantic coast and upon Royal grants which had been received by the various colonies extending westward to the Pacific Ocean.

The French settlements and forts were chiefly in two places—about the mouth of the St. Lawrence River and about the mouth of the Mississippi. These two points of colonization were feebly connected together, although the French had begun to visit the head-waters of the Ohio as early as 1739. Detroit was founded in 1700; a great military road was constructed from that point to the Ohio river in 1739. A French trading post had been built at the head of Lake Erie on the Maumee as early as 1690. The French had established some trading posts on the Ohio as early as 1730, as attested by the six nations at a conference held in Philadelphia, which terminated the war between Great Britain and France, but left the matter of the boundary between these two colonies undetermined.

In 1748 the Ohio Land Company was given a Royal Charter by the King of England and received a grant of 500,000 acres of land between the Monongahela and the Great Kanawha, lying chiefly on the south side of the river. The charter required that 100 families should be settled on this land within seven years; and the company was required to build and maintain a garrison sufficient to protect the settlers. Among the prominent men of the company were Mr. Thos. Lee, Mr. Thos. Hanbury, London agent, Lawrence and Augustus Washington, and ten other Virginians. Preparations were made to survey and colonize this land; and a cargo of goods for the use of the settlers and for traffic with the Indians was purchased in London to arrive the next year, 1749. The company had previously sent out into the Ohio country the well-known Indian interpreter, Conrad Weiser, to visit the Indians and to obtain their consent for settlers to take up their abode here.

At this time the English colonies contained between 1,000,000 and 1,250,000 inhabitants, while the French population numbered scarcely more than 80,000 all told. However, the French were strongly supported by the Royal government at home, while the English were divided into several colonies which were incapable

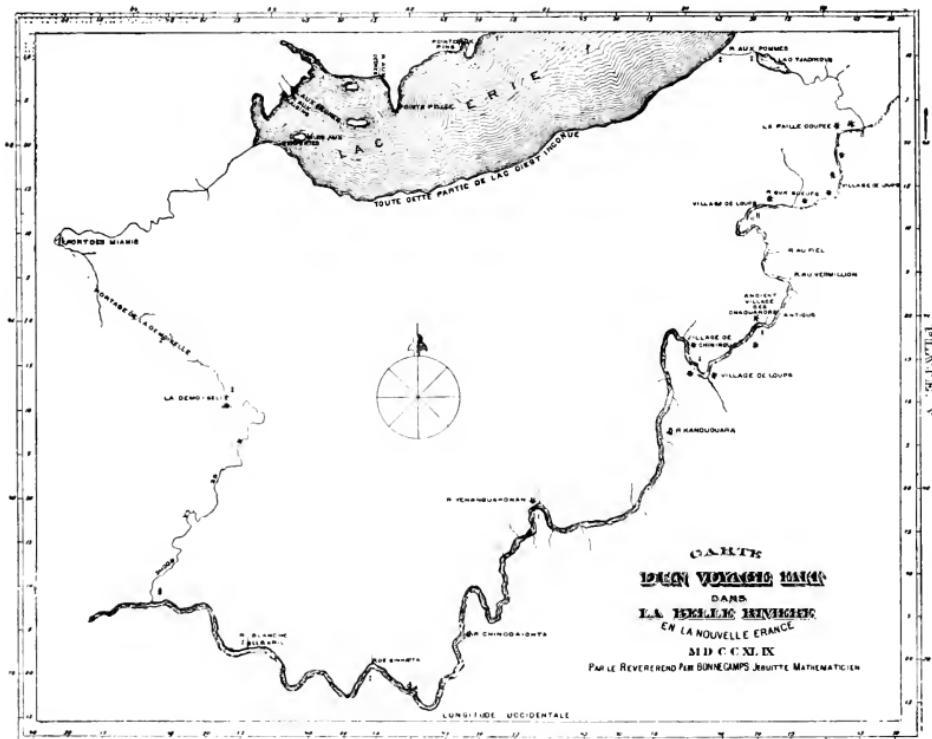
of concerted action. Besides, the French took to the forests of America naturally and to which many had been long habituated.

The French were fully alive to the significance of the intended operation of the Ohio Land Company which, if it succeeded, would mean that their settlements on the St. Lawrence and those at the mouth of the Mississippi would be severed of connection and their position thus be greatly weakened. They were quick to realize they must prevent the English from carrying out their plans to settle the Ohio Valley, as designed by the Ohio Land Company, and that to do this they must themselves drive out existing English traders and prevent permanent occupation by English settlers; and they must themselves hold the country by strengthening their fortifications which they possessed in it and by building new ones.

Accordingly, in the summer of 1749, Marquis de la Galissoniere, Governor-General of Canada, sent Celoron de Bienville on a voyage through the Ohio country for the purpose of warning out the English settlers and making friends of the Indians in anticipation of future trouble. Celoron's party consisted of 14 officers, including Contracour and de Villiers, 29 soldiers, 180 Canadians, a band of Indians and 25 birch bark canoes. In the middle of July, 1749, Celoron reached Lake Chautauqua; and after a fatiguing journey the La Belle Riviere (French River) was entered on the 29th of July. Now Celoron drew up his men in order and proclaimed Louis XV lord of the region; the arms of France on a tin sheet were nailed to a tree and a leaden plate which bears the following inscription, was buried at the foot of it:

"Year, 1749, in the reign of Louis Fifteenth, King of France, we, Celoron, commanding the detachment sent by the Marquis de la Galissoniere, commander-general of New France, to restore tranquility in certain villages of these cantons, have buried this plate at the confluence of the Ohio and the Kanaougon (Cone-wango) this 29th of July as a token of renewal of possession heretofore taken of the aforesaid River Ohio, all streams that fall into it and all lands on both sides to the source of the aforesaid streams, as the preceding Kings of France have enjoyed or ought to have enjoyed it, and which they have upheld by force of arms and by treaties, notably by those of Ryswick and Utrecht and Aix-la-Chapelle."

The party proceeded down the La Belle Riviere, which was the French name for the Ohio and its tributary, the Allegheny. Joncaire, son of a French father and Indian mother, and who spoke several Indian dialects besides French, was appointed advance guard of the expedition charged with the duty of going forward and appeasing the Indians and preventing them from fleeing at the approach of the party. Four leagues below French Creek, by a rock scratched with Indian hieroglyphics, they buried another plate. Three days later they reached the Delaware village, Attique,



Map of a Voyage made on the Beautiful River, in New France, 1749.
By Rev. Father Bonnecamps, Jesuit Mathematician.

EXPLANATION OF FATHER BONNECAMP'S MAP

The map prefixed is a reduced copy of a part of Father Bonnecamp's manuscript map of the route of de Celoron's Expedition, now deposited in the Archives of the Department de la Marine in Paris.

|| Indicates the places where leaden plates were buried.

‡ Points where latitudes and longitudes were observed.

* Sites of Indian villages.

The degrees of longitude are west of the meridian of Paris, and are indicated by the figures in the outer division of the scales on eastern and western extremities of the map. Those on the inner divisions are leagues, in the proportion of twenty to a degree.

FRENCH NAMES

Portage de la Demoiselle,	Apple River.
Lac Tjadikoin,	Lake Chautauqua.
La Paille Coupee,	Broken Straw.
Village de Loups,	Village of Loup Indians, called by the English, Munceys.
R. aux Boeufs,	French Creek.
R. au Fiel,	Gall River.
R. au Vermillion.	Vermillion River.
R. Kanououara,	Wheeling Creek.
R. de Sinhiota,	Scioto River.
Baril.	Barrel.
R. Blanche,	White River.
R. de la Roche,	Rock River.
La Demoiselle,	Maiden.
Portage de la Demoiselle aux Miamis,	Portage from Maiden to Miami.
Fort des Miamis,	Fort Miami.
Isles aux Serpentes,	Serpent Isles.
R. aux Cignes,	Swan River.
R. aux Cedres,	Cedar River.
Pointe Pellee,	Shovel Point.
Pointe aux Pins,	Pine Point.

Toute Cette Partie Du Lac C Est Inconnue.

All this part of the Lake is unknown.

Longitude Occidentale,

West Longitude.

LAN 17 49 DV REGNE DE LOUIS XV ROY DE
FRANCE NOVS CELORON COMMANDANT DVNIS DE
TACHEMENT ENVOIE PAR MONSIEUR LE M DE LA
GAISSONIERE COMMANDANT GENERAL DE LA
NOUVELLE FRANCE POUR RETABLIR LA TRANQUILLITE
DANS QUELQUES VILLAGES SAUVAGES DE CES CANTONS
AVONS ENTIERE CETTE PLAGE SUR LA RIVE MERIDIONALE DE LA RIVIERE OY A 4
LIEUES AU DESSOUS DE LA RIVIERE AUX BOEUFFS VISAVIS UNE MONTAGNE PELLE ET
AUPRES D'UNE GROSSE PIERRE, SUR LAQUELLE ON VOIT PLUSIEURS FIGURES
ASSEZ GROSSIEREMENT GRAVEES, LE 3 AOUT POUR MONUMENT DU RENOV
VELLEMENT DE POSSESSION QUE NOVS AVONS PRIS DE LA DITTE
RIVIERE OYO ET DE TOUTES CELLES QUI Y TOMBENT
ET DE TOUTES LES TERRES DES DEVRES CORSES JUSQUE
AUX SOURCES DES DITTES RIVIERES VINSI QUI ONT
JOVY OV DV JOUR LES PRECEDENTS ROYS DE FRANCE
ET QUI S'ISONT MAINTENUS PAR LES ARMES ET
PAR LES TRAITIES SPECIALLEMENT PAR CEVX DE
BISVICK DUTRCHT ET DAX LA CHAPELLE

(Fac Simile of the Leaden Plate buried at the Indian God Rock, on the Allegheny River, nine miles below Franklin, Pa., August 3, 1749.)

TRANSLATION

"In the year 1749, of the reign of Louis the Fifteenth, King of France, we, Celoron, commander of a detachment sent by Monsieur the Marquis de la Galissoniere, Governor General of New France, to re-establish tranquility in some Indian villages of these cantons, have buried this plate of lead at the confluence of the Ohio and the Chautauqua, this 29th day of July, near the River Ohio, otherwise Belle Riviere, as a monument of the renewal of the possession we have taken of the said River Ohio, and of all those which empty into it, and of all the lands on both sides as far as the sources of the said rivers, as enjoyed or ought to have been enjoyed by the Kings of France preceding, as they have there maintained themselves by arms and by treaties, especially those of Ryswick, Utrecht, and Aix-la-Chapelle."

On the 29th of January, 1751, Governor Clinton sent a copy of the above inscription to Governor Hamilton, of Pennsylvania, informing him that it was "taken from a plate stolen from Joneaire some months since in the Seneca country as he was going to the River Ohio."

at the site of Kittanning. Here was found twenty-two Indian wigwams, all empty, the Indians having fled. A little farther along they found six English traders who were warned out of the country. Celoron charged them with a letter to the Governor of Pennsylvania in which he declared he was greatly surprised to find Englishmen trespassing on the domain of the King of France. The next day they reached the Iroquois village, ruled by Queen Alliquappa, who was loyal to the English. She and her subjects had fled, but Celoron found six white men—English—whom he ordered out of the country. The party passed the site of the future Pittsburgh, and some seventeen miles below approached Chinique, on the Ohio River, called Logstown by the English. At Wheeling Creek, and at the mouth of the Muskingum, and at the mouth of the Great Kanawha, leaden plates were buried. On the 20th of August the party reached the Great Miami, where Celoron buried the last of the leaden plates and then proceeded to ascend this river. They reached the village ruled over by a wily Indian, to whom the French gave the curious name of La Damoselle. The English traders had prudently withdrawn from this village. Celoron endeavored to persuade this tribe to remove to one of the French forts, but in vain. Early in October the expedition reached Lake Erie, where it was detained for a time by a drunken debauch of the Indians. A month later the party had reached Fort Frontenac. Father Bonnecamps, chaplain of the expedition, estimated they had traveled 1200 leagues. While Celoron had warned out many parties of English traders, and done his best to make friends with the Indians, he, himself, seemed very doubtful as to the success of his expedition.

A year after this voyage of Celoron, the Ohio Company sent out Christopher Gist, an experienced woodsman, who had settled in North Carolina and who probably understood several Indian dialects, to explore the Ohio country and select land which must be "good level land"; for the company "had rather go quite down to the Mississippi than to take mean broken land." Gist was a man of education, having studied for the priesthood of the Church of England. In November, 1750, Gist reached Logstown, where he found "a parcel of reprobate Indian traders," chiefly Pennsylvanians and Scotch Irish. At the Wyandot village, on the Muskingum, Gist fell in with George Croghan, a trader, sent to the Indians by the Governor of Pennsylvania to renew the chain of friendship.

Gist and Croghan now traveled together through this west country, going over much of the same ground that had been covered by Celoron the previous year. At various points they delivered addresses to the Indians and endeavoring to counteract any influence that Celoron may have had over them.

In the meantime, the Ohio Company had built a trading house

at Wills Creek at the site of Cumberland. Here the Indians resorted in great numbers.

The governors of New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, whose interests were almost identical as regards the Indians, could not co-operate. The Assembly of New York refused the request of the governor to assist Pennsylvania in securing the fidelity of the Indians on the Ohio. All the other states turned deaf ears, except Massachusetts, Connecticut, and South Carolina, who sent commissioners.

On June 9th, 1752, Messrs. Fry, Lomax, and Patton were dispatched by the colonists to meet the Indians at Logstown to determine on the ownership of certain lands in the Ohio country. Gist attended this council as agent of the Ohio Company, and he produced the treaty of Lancaster, made in 1744, to sustain the claim of the English to this land.

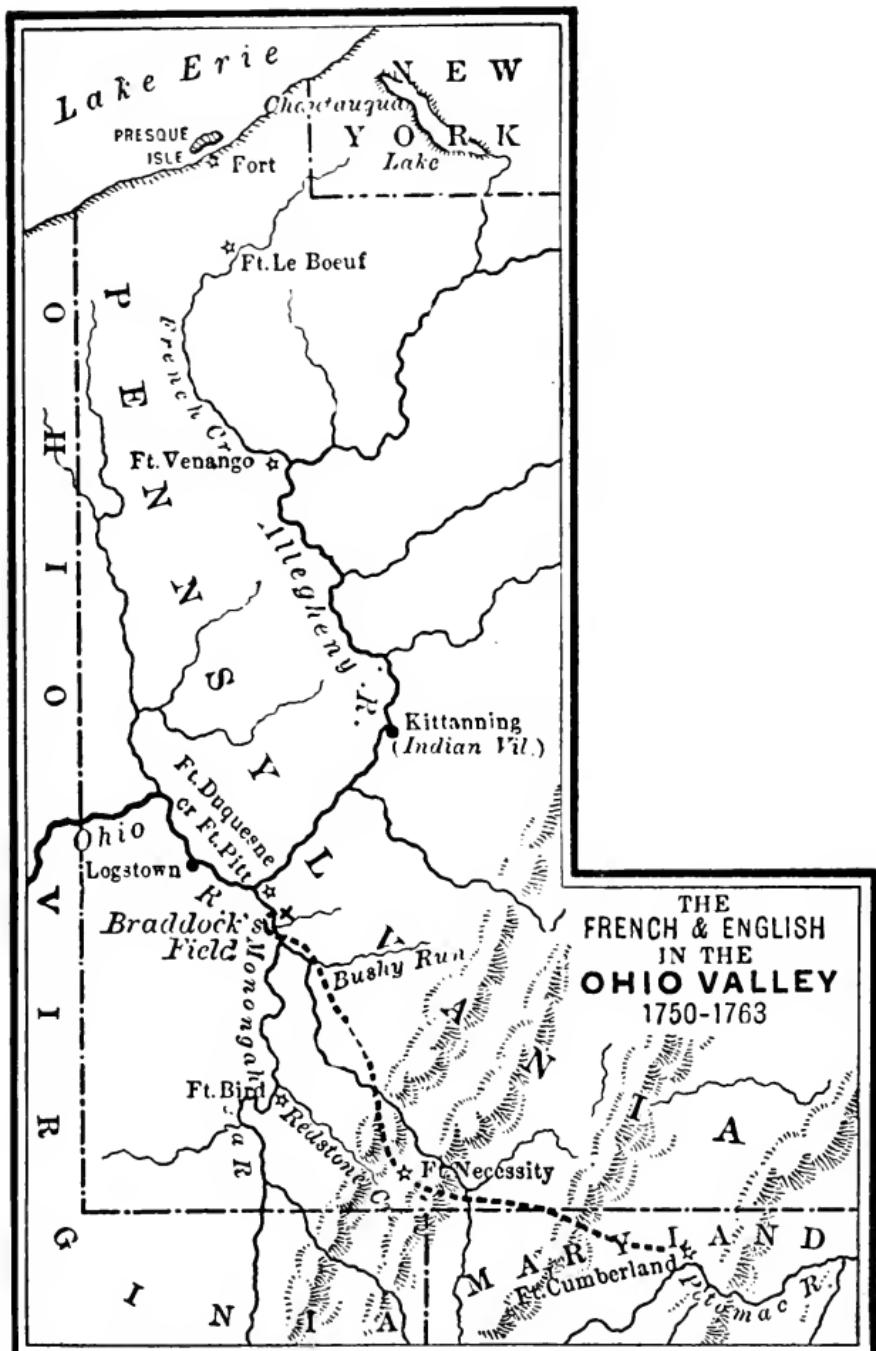
At the date of these negotiations the Ohio country was occupied by various tribes of Indians, chiefly Delawares and Shawnees. Their king, Shingiss, was found by Washington in 1753, located at the mouth of Chartiers Creek. The Delawares also had a village, called Shanopin town, on the left or south bank of the Allegheny, two miles above the fort. The Senecas of the six nations were also dwelling on both sides of the Ohio and Allegheny. These various tribes of Indians seem to have been living peaceably together when first the French and then the English made endeavors to exploit them. It appears that Gist recommended to the Ohio Company the mouth of Chartiers Creek as a good place for a settlement, and that in 1752 he actually set out to lay out a town and fort there.

Soon after Logstown's treaty, in 1753, Gist, thinking the Indians were permanently pacified, abandoned his settlement in North Carolina and made a new home in Pennsylvania on the route of travel adopted by the Ohio Company, a few miles west of Laurel Ridge, near the present site of Uniontown. He brought eleven other families to this new settlement.

In the spring of 1753 the French, in pursuance of their policy, crossed Lake Erie and erected a fort at Presque Isle, now Erie; and a little later another one at La Boeuf, now Waterford, and still another at the mouth of French River, called Venango, now Franklin. Probably another would have been erected also lower down the river, perhaps at the forks of the Ohio, had not the Ohio Land Company anticipated them.

At this time Marquis de Duquesne de Memmeville, Governor of Canada, having succeeded Marquis de la Galisonniere, who died at Quebec in 1752, pursued a vigorous policy in the erection of French forts in the Ohio country.

Thus we begin the year of 1753 with the French and English facing each other at the headwaters of the Ohio River, with a conflict evidently impending. Robert Dinwiddie, a native of Scot-



land, the Governor of Virginia, recommended to the Board of Trade in England that a series of fortifications be constructed in the west.

II.

WASHINGTON'S FIRST TRIP TO WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA

October 30th, 1753, Governor Dinwiddie commissioned George Washington to proceed to the "place on the Ohio River, where the French have lately erected a fort or forts, or where the commandant of the French forces resides, in order to deliver a letter or message to him, and after waiting not exceeding one week, you are to take your leave and return immediately back." In his instructions to Washington, Governor Dinwiddie directs him to address himself to the Half King at Logstown and other sachems of the six nations, and to ask the chief to appoint a sufficient number of warriors to safeguard him; and he further directed him to be "diligent to inquire into the number and forces of the French on the Ohio and in the West," and he further instructed him to "take great care to be truly informed what forts the French have erected and where; how they are garrisoned; and what is the distance from each other and from Logstown."

Washington received this commission on October 30th, 1753, and started on his journey the very next day. In his trip to the French fort he followed the route of the Ohio company. This was well known by the name of Nemacolin's Pass and had been made by Thomas Cresip, with the assistance and guidance of an Indian named Nemacolin. The route was known to the Indians many years before and probably was used by them as early as 1740. This route led from the mouth of Wills Creek to the forks of the Ohio. The Ohio company marked this route first in 1750 by cutting away trees and underbrush and removing dead timber. In 1753 the road had been enlarged and improved at considerable expense. Washington took this route in his trip west in 1753, and again the next year, in 1754. Braddock followed it in 1755 and completed it as far as Turtle Creek, within ten miles of Fort Duquesne; and since this expedition it has been known as Braddock's Road. So you must not think, as I did mistakenly, that in setting out Washington traveled through a trackless forest, for such was not the case; he traveled along a well known and well established, if rather primitive, forest path.

As has been stated, Washington set out on his trip on the 31st of October, 1753. The next day he arrived at Fredericksburg and here engaged his Dutch fencing master, Jacob Vanbraam, to act as his French interpreter. Thence he went to Winchester for horses, baggage, etc.; and thence to Will's Creek, where he arrived on the 14th of November. The party was now made up of Washington, Vanbraam, French interpreter; Davidson, Indian inter-

preter; Christopher Gist, guide, and four men servants, and supplied with horses and camp equipments.

By far the best account of Washington's trip to Venango and his authority for making the trip are contained in his own journal of the trip, from which I freely quote:

WASHINGTON'S JOURNAL

"I was commissioned and appointed by the Honorable Robert Dinwiddie, Esq., Governor of Virginia, to visit and deliver a letter to the commandant of the French forces on the Ohio, and set out on the intended journey the same day. The next day I arrived at Fredericksburg and engaged Mr. Jacob Vanbraam to be my French interpreter, and proceeded with him to Alexandria, where we provided necessities. From thence, we went to Winchester and got baggage, horses, etc.; and from thence we pursued the new road to Will's Creek, where we arrived on the fourteenth of November.

"The excessive rains and vast quantities of snow which had fallen, prevented our reaching Mr. Fraser's, an Indian trader, at the mouth of Turtle Creek on the Monongahela River until Thursday the twenty-second.

"The waters were quite impassable without swimming our horses, which obliged us to get the loan of a canoe, and to send Barnaby Currin and Henry Steward* down the Monongahela with our baggage, to meet us at the forks of the Ohio, about ten miles, there to cross the Allegheny.

"As I got down before the canoe, I spent some time in viewing the rivers and the land in the fork, which I think extremely well suited for a fort, as it has absolute command of both rivers. The land at the point is twenty or twenty-five feet above the common surface of the waters, and considerable bottom of flat, well-timbered land around it, very convenient for building. The rivers are each a quarter of a mile or more across, and run here very nearly at right angles, Allegheny bearing northeast and the Monongahela southeast. The former of these two is a very rapid and swift-running water; the other, deep and still without any perceptible fall.

"About two miles from this, on the southeast side of the river, at the place where the Ohio Company intended to erect a fort, lives Shingiss, King of the Delawares. We called upon him to invite him to council at Logstown.

"As I had taken a good deal of notice yesterday of the situation at the fork, my curiosity led me to examine this more particularly; and I think it greatly inferior, either for defense or advantages—

* These persons were two of the four hired "servitors." Barnaby Currin was an Indian trader.

especially the latter. For a fort at the fork would be equally well situated on the Ohio and have the entire command of the Monongahela, which runs up to our settlement, and is extremely well designed for water carriage, as it is of deep, still nature. Besides, a fort at the fork* might be built at much less expense than at the other places.

"Shingiss attended us to Logstown, where we arrived between sun-setting and dark, the twenty-fifth day after I left Williamsburg.

"As soon as I came into town, I went to Monacatoocha (as the Half King was out at his hunting cabin on Little Beaver Creek, about fifteen miles off), and informed him, by John Davidson, my Indian interpreter, that I was sent as a messenger to the French general, and was ordered to call upon the sachems of the six nations, to acquaint them of it. I gave him a string of wampum and a twist of tobacco, and desired him to send for the Half King (which he promised to do, by a runner, in the morning) and for other sachems. I invited him and the other great men present to my tent, where they stayed about an hour and returned.

"November 25th.—Came to town four of ten Frenchmen, who had deserted from a company at the Kuskuskas, which lies at the mouth of this river.

"I inquired into the situation of the French of the Mississippi, their number, and what forts they had built. They informed me that there were four small forts between New Orleans and the Black Islands, garrisoned with about thirty or forty men, and a few small pieces in each; that at New Orleans, which is near the mouth of the Mississippi, there are thirty-five companies of forty men each, with a pretty strong fort mounting eight carriage guns; and at the Black Islands there are several companies and a fort with six guns.

"The Black Islands are about a hundred and thirty leagues above the mouth of the Ohio, which is about three hundred and fifty above New Orleans. They also acquainted me that there was a small palisaded fort on the Ohio at the mouth of the Obaish, about six leagues from the Mississippi. The Obaish heads near the west end of Lake Erie, and affords the communication between the French on the Mississippi and those on the lakes. The deserters came up from the lower Shanopin town with one Brown, an Indian trader, and were going to Philadelphia.

"About three o'clock this afternoon the Half King came to town. * * * * He told me he was received in a very stern manner by the late (French) commander.

"26th.—We met in council at the long house about nine o'clock, where I spoke to them as follows:

* The spot here designated is the site of Pittsburgh, Pa.

"Brothers:—I have called you together in council by order of your brother, the Governor of Virginia, to acquaint you that I am sent with all possible dispatch, to visit and deliver a letter to the French commandant, of very great importance to your brothers, the English, and I dare say to you, their friends and allies.

"I was desired, brothers, by your brother, the governor, to call upon you, the sachems of the nations, to inform you of it, and to ask your advice and assistance to proceed the nearest and best road to the French. You see, brothers, I have gotten thus far on my journey.

"His Honor likewise desired me to apply to you for some of your young men to conduct and provide provisions for us on our way, and be a safe-guard against those French Indians, who have taken up the hatchet against us. I have spoken thus, particularly to you, brothers, because His Honor, our Governor, treats you as good friends and allies, and holds you in great esteem. To confirm what I have said, I give you this string of wampum."

"After they had considered for sometime on the above discourse, the Half King got up and spoke:

"Now, my brother, in regard to what my brother, the governor, had desired of me, I return to you this answer:

"I rely upon you as a brother ought to do, as you say we are brothers and one people. We shall put heart in hand and speak to our fathers, the French, concerning the speech they made to me, and you may depend that we will endeavor to be your guard.

"Brother, as you have asked my advice, I hope you will be ruled by it, and stay until I can provide a company to go with you. The French speech-belt is not here; I have to go for it to my hunting cabin. Likewise, the people whom I have ordered in are not yet come, and cannot until the third night from this; until which time, brother, I must beg you to stay.

"I intend to send the guard of Mingoes, Shannoahs, and Delawares, that our brothers may see the love and loyalty we bear them."

"As I had orders to make all possible dispatch, and waiting here was very contrary to my inclinations, I thanked him in the most suitable manner I could, and told him that my business required the greatest expedition, and would not admit of that delay. * * * *

"We set out about nine o'clock, with the Half King, Jeskakatke, White Thunder, and the Hunter,* and traveled on the road to Venango, where we arrived on the fourth of December without anything remarkable happening but a continued series of bad weather.

"This is an old Indian town, situated at the mouth of French

* Craig (History of Pittsburgh), believes this Indian was Guyasuta.

Creek, on the Allegheny, and lies near north, about sixty miles from Logstown, but more than seventy the way we were obliged to go.

"We found the French colors hoisted at a house from which they had driven Mr. John Frazier, an English subject. I immediately repaired to it to know where the commander resided. There were three officers—one of them, Captain Joncaire, informed me that he had the command of the Ohio, but there was a general officer at the near fort, where he advised me to apply for an answer. He invited us to sup with them, and treated us with greatest complaisance.

"The wine, as they dosed themselves pretty plentifully with it, soon banished the restraint which at first appeared in their conversation, and gave a license to their tongues to reveal their sentiments more freely.

"They told me, that it was their absolute design to take possession of the Ohio, and by G—d they would do it; for, that although they were sensible the English could raise two men for their one, they knew their motions were too slow and dilatory to prevent any undertaking of theirs.

"They pretend to have an undoubted right to the river by one La Salle sixty years ago; and the rise of this expedition is to prevent our settling on the river or waters of it, as they heard of some families moving out in order thereto.

"From the best intelligence I could get, there have been fifteen hundred men on this side of the Ontario Lake. But upon the death of the general, all were recalled, to about six or seven hundred, who were left to garrison four forts, one hundred and fifty or thereabouts in each. The first of them is on French Creek, near a small lake, about sixty miles from Venango, near north-northwest; the next lies on Lake Erie, where the greater part of their stores is kept. From this, it is one hundred and twenty miles to the carrying place at the falls of Lake Erie, where there is a small fort at which they lodge their goods from which all their stores are brought.

"The next fort lies about twenty miles from this, on Ontario Lake. Between this fort and Montreal there are three others, the first of which is nearly opposite to the English fort, Oswego. From the fort on Lake Erie to Montreal is about six hundred miles, which they say requires no more (if good weather) than four weeks' voyage, if they go in barks or large vessels so that they may cross the lakes; but if they come in canoes, it will require five or six weeks, for they are obliged to keep under the shore. * * *

"December 7th.—Monsieur La Force, commissary of French stores, and three other soldiers, came over to accompany us up. We found it extremely difficult to get the Indians off to-day, as every stratagem had been used to prevent their going up with us. * * *

"At twelve o'clock we set out for the fort, and were prevented arriving there until the eleventh by excessive rains, snows, and bad traveling through many mires and swamps. * * * *

"12th.—I prepared early to wait upon the commander and was received and conducted to him by the second officer in command. I acquainted him with my business, and offered my commission and letters, both of which he desired me to keep until the arrival of Monsieur Reparti, captain at the next fort, who was sent for and expected every hour.

"This commander is a knight of the military order of St. Louis, and named Legardeur de St. Pierre. He is an elderly gentleman, and has much the air of a soldier. He was sent over to take command immediately upon the death of the late general, and arrived here about seven days before me.

"At two o'clock, the gentleman who was sent for, arrived, when I offered the letter, etc., again, which they received, and adjourned into a private apartment for the captain to translate, who understood a little English. After he had done it, the commander desired I would walk in, and bring my interpreter, to peruse and correct it, which I did.

"13th.—The chief officers retired to hold a council of war, which gave me an opportunity of taking the dimensions of the fort and making what observations I could.

"It is situated on the south or west fork of French Creek, near the water, and is almost surrounded by the creek and a small branch of it, which forms a kind of an island. Four houses compose the sides. The bastions are made of piles driven in the ground, standing more than twelve feet above it, and sharp at top, with portholes cut for cannon, and loopholes for the small arms to fire through. There are eight six-pound pieces mounted in each bastion, and one piece of four pounds before the gate. In the bastions are a guard-house, chapel, doctor's lodging and the commander's private store, round which are laid platforms for the cannon and men to stand on. There are several barracks without the fort for the soldiers' dwellings, covered some with bark and some with boards, made of logs. There are also several other houses, such as stables, smith's shops, etc.

"I could get no certain account of the number of men here, but according to the best judgment I could form, there are a hundred, exclusive of officers, of whom there are many. * * * *

"14th.—As the snow increased very fast, and our horses daily became weaker, I sent them off unloaded * * * * intending myself to go down by water. * * * *

"I was inquiring of the commander, by what authority he had made prisoners of several of our English subjects; he told me that the country belonged to them, that no Englishman had a right to trade upon those waters, and that he had orders to make every

person prisoner, who attempted it on the Ohio or the waters of it. . . .

"This evening I received an answer to His Honor, the governor's letter, from the commandant.

"15th.—The commandant ordered a plentiful store of liquor and provisions to be put on board our canoes, and appeared to be extremely complaisant, though he was exerting every artifice that he could invent to set our Indians at variance with us, and prevent their going until after our departure, by presents, rewards, and everything that could be suggested by him or his officers.

"I cannot say that ever in my life I suffered so much anxiety as I did in this affair. I saw that every stratagem which the most fruitful brain could invent was practiced to win Half King to their interest. . . .

"16th.—We had a tedious and very fatiguing passage down the creek; several times we had like to have been staved against rocks, and many times were obliged, all hands, to get out and remain in the water half an hour or more, getting over the shoals. At one place the ice had lodged, and made it impassable by water. We were, therefore, obliged to carry our canoes across the neck of land, a quarter of a mile over. We did not reach Venango until the twenty-second, where we met with our horses. . . .

"23rd.—Our horses were now so weak and feeble and the baggage so heavy (as we were obliged to provide all necessaries which the journey would require), that we doubted much their performing it. Therefore, myself and others, except the drivers, who were obliged to ride, gave up our horses for packs to assist along with the baggage.

"I put myself in an Indian walking dress, and continued with them three days, until I found there was no probability of their getting home in any reasonable time. The horses became less able to travel every day; the cold increasing very fast, and the roads were becoming much worse by a deep snow, continually freezing; therefore, as I was uneasy to get back to make report of my proceedings to His Honor, the Governor, I determined to prosecute my journey the nearest way through the woods on foot.

"Accordingly, I left Mr. Vanbraam in charge of our baggage, with money and directions to provide necessaries, from place to place, for themselves and horses, and made the most convenient dispatch in traveling.

"I took my necessary papers, pulled off my clothes, and tied myself up in a matchcoat. Then, with gun in hand and pack on my back, in which were my papers and provisions, I set out with Mr. Gist, fitted in the same manner, Wednesday the twenty-sixth.

"The day following, just after we had passed a place called Murdering Town (where we intended to quit the path and steer across the country for Shanopin's Town) we fell in with a party

of French Indians, who had lain in wait for us. One of them fired at Mr. Gist or me, not fifteen steps off, but fortunately missed. We took this fellow into custody, and kept him until about nine o'clock at night, then let him go, and walked all the remaining part of the night without making any stop, that we might get the start of their pursuit the next day, since we were well assured they would follow our track as soon as it was light.

"The next day we continued traveling until quite dark and got to the river, about two miles above Shanopin's. We expected to find the river frozen, but it was not, only about fifty feet from each shore. The ice, I suppose, had broken up above, for it was driving in vast quantities.

"There was no way for getting over but on a raft, which we set about with one hatchet, and finished just after sun setting. This was a whole day's work; we next got it launched, then went on board of it and set off, but before we were halfway over, we were jammed in the ice in such a manner that we expected every moment our raft to sink, and ourselves to perish. I put out my setting-pole to try to stop the raft, that the ice might pass by, when the rapidity of the stream threw it with so much violence against the pole that it jerked me out into ten feet of water, but fortunately saved myself by catching hold of the raft-logs. Notwithstanding all our efforts, we could not get to the other shore, but were obliged, as we were near an island, to quit our raft and make for it.

"The cold was so extremely severe that Mr. Gist had all his fingers and some of his toes frozen, and the water was shut up so hard that we found no difficulty in getting off the island on the ice in the morning, and went to Mr. Frazer's. We met here with twenty warriors, who were going to the southward to war, but coming to a place on the head of the Great Kanawha, where they found seven people killed and scalped (all but one woman with very light hair), they turned about and ran back for fear the inhabitants should rise and take them as the authors of the murder. They report that the bodies were lying about the house and some of them much torn and eaten by hogs. By the marks which were left, they say they were French Indians, of the Ottaway nation, who did it.

"As we intended to take horses here, and it required some time to find them, I went up about three miles to the mouth of the Youghiogheny to visit Queen Alliquippa, who had expressed great concern that we passed her in going to the fort. I made her a present of a matchcoat and a bottle of rum, which latter was thought much the better present of the two.

"Tuesday, the 1st of January, we left Mr. Frazer's house, and arrived at Mr. Gist's, at Monongahela, the 2nd, where I bought a horse and saddle. The 6th, we met seventeen horses loaded with materials and stores for a fort at the fork of the Ohio; and the day

after, some families going out to settle. This day we arrived at Will's Creek, after as fatiguing a journey as it is possible to conceive, rendered so by excessive bad weather.

"From the first day of December to the fifteenth, there was but one day on which it did not rain or snow incessantly; and throughout the whole journey we met with nothing but one continued series of cold, wet weather, which occasioned very uncomfortable lodgings, especially after we had quitted out tent, which was some screen from the inclemency of it.

"On the 11th I got to Belvoir, where I stopped one day to take necessary rest and then set out and arrived in Williamsburg the 6th, when I waited upon His Honor, the Governor, with the letter I had brought from the French and to give an account of the success of my proceedings."

GIST'S JOURNAL

Captain Gist also kept a journal of this expedition.* Some passages of it afford an interesting commentary on what Washington has more briefly recorded:

"Wednesday, 26th.—The major desired me to set out on foot and leave our company, as the creeks were frozen and our horses could make but little way. Indeed, I was unwilling he should undertake such travel, who had never been used to walking before this time. But as he was set on it, we set out with our packs, like Indians, and traveled eighteen miles. That night we lodged at an Indian cabin, and the major was much fatigued. It was very cold. All the small runs were frozen, so that we could hardly get water to drink.

"Thursday, 27th.—We rose early in the morning, and set out about two o'clock. Got to Murdering Town, on the southeast fork of Beaver Creek. Here we met with an Indian, whom I thought I had seen at Joneaire's, at Venango, when on our journey up to the French fort. This fellow called me by my Indian name and pretended to be glad to see me. He asked us several questions, as how we came to travel on foot, when we left Venango, where we parted with our horses, and when they would be there. Major Washington insisted on traveling the nearest way to the forks of the Allegheny. We asked the Indian if he would go with us and show us the nearest way. The Indian seemed very glad and ready to go with us. Upon which we set out and the Indian took the major's pack. We traveled very briskly for eight or ten miles, when the major's feet grew sore, and he being very weary, and the Indian steered too much northeastwardly.

"The major desired to encamp, on which the Indian asked to carry his gun. But he refused that, and then the Indian grew

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churlish, and pressed us to keep on, telling us that there were Ottawa Indians in these woods, and that they would scalp us if we lay out, but to go to his cabin, and we should be safe. I thought ill of the fellow, but did not care to let the major know I mistrusted him. But soon he mistrusted him as much as I. He said he could hear a gun in his cabin, and steered us more northwardly. We grew uneasy; and then he said that two whoops might be heard to his cabin. We went two miles further. Then the major said he would stay at the next water, and we desired the Indian to stop at the next water. But before we came to water, we came to a clear meadow. It was very light, and there was snow on the ground. The Indian made a stop, and turned about. The major saw him point his gun towards us and fire. Said the major, 'are you shot?' 'No,' said I. Upon this, the Indian ran forward to a big standing white oak, and went to loading his gun; but we were too soon with him. I would have killed him but the major would not suffer me to kill him.

"We let him charge his gun. We found he put in a ball. Then we took care of him. The major or I always stood by the guns. We made the Indian make a fire for us by a little run, as if we intended to sleep there. I said to the major, 'As you will not have him killed, we must get him away, and then we can travel all night.' Upon this I said to the Indian, 'I suppose you were lost, and fired your gun.' He said he knew the way to his cabin and that it was but a little way. 'Well,' said I, 'do you go home; and as we are tired, we will follow your tracks in the morning; here is a cake of bread for you and you must give us meat in the morning.' He was glad to get away. I followed him and listened until he was fairly out of the way. Then we set out about half a mile, where we made a fire, set our compass, and fixed our course, and traveled all night. In the morning we were at the head of Piney Creek.

"Friday, 28th.—We traveled all the next day down said creek and just at night we found some tracks where Indians had been hunting. We parted and appointed a place, a distance off, where to meet, it being then dark. We encamped, and thought ourselves safe enough to sleep.

"Saturday, 29th.—We set out early, got to Alleghany, made a raft, and with difficulty got over to an island a little above Shanopin's Town. The major having fallen in from off the raft, and my fingers being frost-bitten, and the sun down, and it being very cold, we contented ourselves to encamp upon the island. It was deep water between us and the shore, but the cold did some service, for in the morning it was frozen hard enough for us to pass over on the ice."

While Washington was carrying Governor Dinwiddie's note to the French commandant at Venango, the Governor himself was not idle. He assembled the House of Burgesses on November 1st

and laid before them the critical situation as regards the French occupation of the Ohio River valley. The Burgesses could not agree at this time to appropriate any money, although a few weeks later they did appropriate £10,000 in Virginia currency for the purpose of raising troops to drive the French out of the Ohio country. Dinwiddie had in the meantime written urgent letters to Governors of Pennsylvania, the Carolinas, Maryland, and New Jersey, for troops to meet at Will's Creek by the first of March. Pennsylvania's governor, Hamilton, could do nothing to help in the face of the placidity of the Quakers and the stolidity of the German farmers, who made up the assembly. North Carolina responded to the Governor's appeal and sent him 300 or 400 men.

Early in February, 1754, Captain Trent, with a small company of men, was sent forward with instructions to build a fort immediately at the junction of the Ohio and Monongahela Rivers, and thus anticipate the French. For some reason not well known, Trent, after reaching the forks, returned east and left the work of construction in charge of Ensign Ward, with 40 men. These men were interrupted at their work on the 17th of April, 1754, by the appearance of a large number of bateaux and canoes, which came gliding down the Allegheny River, carrying more than 500 French soldiers under Contrecoeur, who had succeeded in office St. Pierre. The French commanded Ensign Ward to desist from his work and surrender it to them, which he did without show of resistance. He was allowed to depart without injury, and he returned to Virginia. The French themselves immediately began the erection of a fort, which they called after Duquesne, the Governor of Canada, who had succeeded Galissoniere in that office.

III.

WASHINGTON'S SECOND JOURNEY

A company of 300 men, which had been raised by Governor Dinwiddie, was placed under the command of Joshua Fry, as Colonel, with Washington next in command. While Col. Fry remained behind at Alexandria for supplies and more men (it was felt so important that something be done immediately), Washington, in command of the other half of the regiment numbering 150 men, pushed forward to the store house of the Ohio company at Will's Creek. Both Dinwiddie and Washington seemed to regard the action of the French in driving Ensign Ward from the forks of the river when he was engaged in building a fort, as practically a declaration of war. From Will's Creek to Fort Duquesne was about 140 miles; and about midway, at the mouth of the Redstone Creek (now Brownsville), there was another trading post of the Ohio company. Dinwiddie gave direction that when the army, which had crossed the mountains and reached this point, and when forces were strong enough, they should attack the French at Fort Duquesne. For this order the Governor had behind him the sanction of Royal authority.

After much severe labor, Washington succeeded in cutting a path through the mountains sufficient to permit the passage of his troops and supply wagons, and finally reached a place on the Laurel ridge, just below Uniontown, which he called Great Meadows. Here he encamped. He had received word from Christopher Gist and two messengers from the Half King, apprising him that the French were moving against him. As a matter of fact, a small company of men had been sent out from the fort under the command of Ensign Jumonville. These were discovered and surprised by Washington, who opened fire upon them with the result that Jumonville and nine of his men were killed and twenty-two captured. Only one of the party, a young Canadian, escaped.

Washington has been greatly censured for this attack and for killing Jumonville, it having been alleged that the party was simply coming to him for the purpose of conference and not for the purpose of attack. But Parkman points out that the French troops were loitering in the neighborhood of Washington for two or three days, which are not the tactics of a party simply bent upon delivering a message or entering into a parley. Parkman further observed that "there was every reason for believing that the designs of the French were hostile," and he commends Washington for his "coolness and judgment and profound sense of public duty

and strong self-control." Just now it is to be remembered that the future father of his country was then only 22 years of age.

Washington now retired to Great Meadows, expecting another attack from the French, in which he was not disappointed. Expecting re-enforcements from Col. Fry, who was at this time at Will's Creek dangerously ill, he hastily threw up entrenchments in the space of three days. The Half King and Queen Alliquippa, with thirty Indian families, joined the fort. A few days later, Christopher Gist brought the news that Col. Fry had died at Will's Creek. Washington, now commander-in-chief of the expedition, was rejoiced by the arrival of an independent company from South Carolina. Fort Necessity was an animated place, alive with soldiers, backwoodsmen, and Indians, surrounded by the same beautiful hills and mountains which we may enjoy to-day. A company of regulars, under Captain Mackey, were of doubtful advantage; for they considered themselves as not subject to the commands of a provincial colonel. A party of forty Indians, who were really French spies, came over from Ohio and spent some days in council.

In the spring of the year, Fort Duquesne had been strongly reinforced, and now numbered something like 1,400 men.

And now, a body of French, supported by Indians under the command of Coulon de Villiers, a brother of Jumonville, marched to Fort Necessity, arriving on the scene after a rapid march on the morning of June 26th. He found 500 French, supported by a number of Indians, under Le Mercier, on the point of attacking Washington, but on account of de Villier's relationship to Jumonville, the whole command of the expedition was given to him. Contrecoeur harangued the Indians to fire them with love of the French cause. Contrecoeur, Villiers, Le Mercier, and Longueil held a council of war, and it was decided to march at once against and attack Fort Necessity.

The party set out and paddled their canoes up the Monongahela River and reached the deserted store house of the Ohio company on the 13th of June; and on the 2nd of July the abandoned camp of Gist's settlement. The next day, they passed through the gorge of Laurel Hill through a drenching rain. De Villiers swerved from the road half a mile to see the place where his brother had been killed. Here several bodies still lay unburied.

Washington's men had been making ready for the expected attack of the French. The fort was a simple, square enclosure, and was surrounded by trenches. The Virginians had little provisions and were short of ammunition. The party of French approaching them was reported at 900. Washington drew up his men in front of Fort Necessity, choosing for some reason to meet them in the open plain. De Villiers and his followers made their way through the forest, until they came opposite the fort, and concealed themselves in two densely wooded hills, separated by a small brook.

Here the French and Indians were well protected and had the advantage of high ground. Washington had in the meantime withdrawn his soldiers within the entrenchments. Now the firing began on both sides and continued through the day, and despite the heavy rainfall much of the time, which nearly quenched the fire on both sides.

At eight o'clock in the evening the French proposed a truce. Both sides were in bad plight, being thoroughly drenched and short of ammunition and provisions. At first, Washington declined the invitation to parley, suspecting in it a move to introduce a spy into his fort; but when the offer was repeated and he was invited to send an officer to them, he did so, designating Ensign Peyroney and Captain Vanbraam. The terms of capitulation were prepared and articles were signed by both sides about midnight. By the articles, the English were permitted to march out, beating their drums and to remove all their property except their heavy guns. They were to be protected from insult by either French or Indians. The prisoners taken from Jumonville were to be freed. Vanbraam and Robert Stobo were given into the hands of the French as hostages for the faithful performance of the contract.

In the engagement, 12 Virginians were killed and 43 wounded. De Villiers' loss numbered 20 in all. The number of colonists engaged in the fight is not certain. There were six companies of Virginians, numbering 305 men and officers, and Mackey's men numbered 100. Parkman supposes about 350 may have taken part in the fight. On the side of De Villiers there were probably 700 French, besides a number of Indians. There were no Indians on Washington's side, even the Half King holding himself aloof. He afterwards told Weiser that the French behaved like cowards and the English like fools.

Early the next morning the fort was abandoned, and Washington's retreat began. Indians had killed all the horses and cattle and Washington was sorely burdened with the sick and wounded. Much of the baggage had to be abandoned. For a time they were harrassed by the Indians, who subjected them to more or less indignities. Finally, the 52 miles between Fort Necessity and Will's Creek was covered.

On the other hand, De Villiers returned to Fort Duquesne with the exultation of a victor. He burned on his way the settlement of Gist and the store house at Redstone Creek.

Not an English flag now waved beyond the Alleghenies.

Washington's dilapidated forces reached Virginia in a pitiable plight. Governor Dinwiddie's emotions were those of anger and despair. He felt that had the stubborn House of Burgesses acted on his suggestion more promptly this defeat would have been avoided.

IV.

WASHINGTON WITH THE BRADDOCK EXPEDITION; HIS THIRD JOURNEY

And now, after a time, Governor Hamilton, of Pennsylvania, secured the support of his Legislature and could co-operate with Governor Dinwiddie. Both governors raised forces; and an appeal was made to England, which resulted in the dispatch of two British regiments under Major-General Braddock, which arrived in Hampton, Va., the latter part of February. Franklin, who met Braddock and helped him to fit out the expedition for the reduction of Fort Duquesne, wrote this of him:

"This general was, I think, a brave man, and might probably have made a good figure in some European war. But he had too much self-confidence, too high opinion of the validity of regular troops, too mean a one of both Americans and Indians."

The two regiments under Braddock were commanded by Halket and Dunbar and completed by enlistment in Virginia to 700 men each. Braddock started out at the head of the expedition for Will's Creek, which he reached May 10th; here the army rested until the 10th of June, when it began its march for Fort Duquesne. Washington was made a member of Braddock's staff and accompanied him on the expedition. By the 18th of June, Little Meadows was reached. And now fever and dysentery broke out among the men. Washington advised Braddock to leave the heavy baggage behind and push forward with his troops. This was done, Col. Dunbar being left behind to command the rear division, while the advance army consisting of 1,200 soldiers, began its march forward on the 19th of June, accompanied by artillery, wagons, and pack horses. Washington at this time was ill himself and remained in the rear of the forward army, and recovered only in time to take his place when the battle of Braddock's Field was fought. On July 7th, the mouth of Turtle Creek, on the Monongahela, was reached.

Fort Duquesne lay only a few miles to the west. This fort was well and strongly built, as compared with others in the western country, and was surrounded by ravines and ditches. There were two water sides enclosed by strong stockades. Contrecoeur was in command, and under him were three captains—Beaujeu, Dumad, and Ligneris. His forces consisted of French and Canadian soldiers and something like 300 Indian warriors.

At this time the fort contained a captive in the person of a young Pennsylvanian, named James Smith, apparently an unusually bright boy of 18, who had somehow escaped being scalped, the fate which was meted out to his companions who were surprised by the Indians. Here he was brutally and savagely treated, but his life

was spared. He has given us much information as to the doings inside Fort Duquesne at the time of Braddock's approach. Indian runners had kept Contrecoeur well posted for several days in advance as to Braddock's approach. The French, after many conferences, finally decided, persuaded by the pleading of Captain Beaujeu, to march out of the fort and meet the enemy as they crossed the Monongahela River, and take them by surprise. When Beaujeu proposed this plan to the Indians, they at first were reluctant to co-operate with them, but they were finally persuaded to do so when they saw the French were determined to march without them if they would not join them. Beaujeu prepared himself by receiving the Holy Communion, and then he dressed himself like a savage and put himself at the head of the French soldiers and the motley excited band of Indians. Smith estimates that probably the party which left the fort numbered 637 Indians, besides 36 French officers, 72 regular soldiers and 146 Canadians—900 in all.

Braddock crossed the Monongahela for the second time about one o'clock, expecting here to find the French. The English troops marched forward to music, banners waving, in a long, regular procession. The spectacle was one which excited Washington's admiration. It seems from the best information we can find that Beaujeu had really intended and planned to attack the English at the ford of the Monongahela, but was prevented from doing so by several causes, chief among them the defection of 300 Indians who did not rejoin him until after the English had crossed the river. Close to the bank of the river there was a little clearing and a deserted house which had once been occupied by the English trader, Fraser, and which was at once recognized by Washington, for it was here that he had found rest and shelter after his eventful crossing of the Allegheny River on his return from Fort Venango, when he was cold, hungry, and exhausted. The distance from Fort Duquesne at this point was eight miles and it was covered by a dense forest. Braddock did reconnoitre some distance in advance, but not very far, and he did make considerable preparation to prevent surprise. In the van of the army were six Virginian light horsemen. Flanking parties were thrown out on either side and the horses and cattle were forced to make their way painfully through the trees.

Gage led the advance column. Just as it passed a wide ravine and the main column was on the point of entering it, the guides and light horsemen in front suddenly fell back. A man dressed like an Indian, but wearing the gorget of an officer, probably Beaujeu, was seen running along the path. He stopped and waved his hat; soon it appeared that the forest was swarming with French and savages. The Indians responded to the signal with yells and opened a heavy fire from behind the trees, which was replied to by Gage's column, which stood with great steadiness against the Indians' fire. With the first fire a number of Canadians and French

fled, calling out according to Dumas "Sauve qui peut." Volley after volley followed. At the third one Beaujeu fell dead. The Indians gave way in confusion. The English soldiers were moving forward, cheering and shouting "God save the King!" Captain Dumas, in command, believed that all was lost. He says, "I advanced with the assurance that comes from despair, exciting by voice and gesture the few soldiers that remained. The fire of my platoon was so sharp that the enemy seemed astonished." The encouraged Indians began to rally. The French officers, who commanded them, showed great courage and fortitude. The Indians under cover, fired from all directions; an especially destructive fire came from a hill to the right of the English, where the Indians were concealed in large numbers. The British cheered no longer; the troops broke ranks and huddled in bewildered masses. Scores and scores were cut down by the bullets of their invisible foes.

Braddock pushed forward to support Gage, leaving Sir Peter Halket in the rear to guard the baggage. Gage's troops were overtaken by Braddock just as they were forced back and had been compelled to abandon their cannon. Now they endeavored to cover themselves behind Braddock's troops. Great confusion resulted. The soldiers were now massed together, without shelter, and exposed to terrific fire. The Virginians alone were equal to the situation, for they fought behind trees as did their adversaries, and might have held the enemy in check had not Braddock in furious anger ordered his soldiers to form in line and to advance. In the confusion many were killed or wounded by soldiers of their own side. A few of the regulars, who tried to fight behind trees, were beaten by Braddock with his sword and compelled to stand out in the open. The dead and wounded soldiers were lying on every side. One of Braddock's officers wrote afterwards: "I cannot describe the horrors of the scene. No pen could do it. The yell of the Indians is fresh in my ear, and the terrific sound will haunt me till the hour of my dissolution." Braddock himself showed the utmost bravery if not discretion. Mounted on horseback, he rode hither and thither, directing the movements. Four horses were shot under him and his clothing was rent by four bullets.

The British officers behaved with courage and devotion. Sir Peter Halket was shot dead, and his son, as he was stooping to raise his body from the ground, was also shot dead. Gates and Gage, who afterwards opposed each other in the Revolutionary war, and Gladwin, who, eight years later, defended Detroit against Pontiac, were all wounded. Of 86 officers, 63 were killed or disabled; and out of 1,373 non-commissioned officers and privates, only 459 were uninjured.

At last, Braddock sounded the retreat. He and his officers tried to restore some order. Soon thereafter, Braddock fell from his horse, shot through the arm and lung. He was borne to the rear by

Captain Stewart and another provincial; and the retreat was one of wild confusion. Captains Dumas and Ligneris did not attempt to pursue them, as only the French remained with them. The field was now abandoned to the fearful pillage and murder of the savages.

Young James Smith, already referred to, says: "In the afternoon I again observed a great noise and commotion in the fort, and though at that time I could not understand French, I found it was the voice of joy and triumph, and I feared that they had received what I called bad news. I had observed some of the old country soldiers speak Dutch; as I spoke Dutch, I went to one of them and asked him what was the news. He told me that a runner had just arrived who said Braddock would certainly be defeated; that the Indians and French had surrounded him and were concealed behind trees and gullies, and kept a constant fire upon the English; and that they saw the English falling in heaps, and if they did not take the river, which was the only gap, and make their escape there would not be one man left alive before sundown. Some time after this, I heard a number of scalp—hallos, and saw a company of Indians and French coming in. I observed that they had a great number of bloody scalps, grenadier's caps, British canteens, bayonets, etc., with them. They brought the news that Braddock was defeated. After that, another company came in, which appeared to be about one hundred and chiefly Indians; and it seemed to me that almost every man of this company was carrying scalps. After this came another company with a number of wagon horses and also a great many scalps. Those that were coming and those that had arrived kept a constant firing of small arms, and also the great guns in the fort, which was accompanied with the most hideous shouts and yells from all quarters, so that it appeared to me as though the infernal regions had broken loose.

"About sundown I beheld a small party coming in with a dozen prisoners, stripped naked, with their hands tied behind their backs and their faces and part of their bodies blacked; these prisoners they burned to death on the bank of the Allegheny river, opposite the fort. I stood on the fort wall until I beheld them begin to burn one of the men; they tied him to a stake, and kept touching him with firebrands, red-hot irons, etc., and he screaming in the most doleful manner, the Indians in the meantime yelling like infernal spirits. As this scene appeared too shocking for me to behold, I retired to my lodging, both sore and sorry. When I came to my lodging I saw Russell's *SEVEN SERMONS*, which they had brought from the field of battle, which a Frenchman made a present of to me."

The loss of the French was not heavy; but it fell chiefly upon the officers, three of whom were killed and four wounded. Only five of the Canadians were killed. The chief loss on the French

side was borne by the Indians, to whom the victory was due. Twenty-seven of the Canadian Indians were killed.

Braddock, borne along by his retreating soldiers, was still giving commands to his officers and hoping yet to make a stand against the French. Washington, by the order of Braddock, rode on to Dunbar's camp, asking for wagons, provisions and horses.

The fugitives traveled all night, and by morning some semblance of order was restored. And now Braddock, unable to ride, was carried on a litter. Twenty-four hours later the deserted farm of Christopher Gist was reached. Here the army was met by wagons, carrying provisions and a detachment of soldiers sent by Dunbar, whose camp was six miles distant.

When Dunbar in the rear, received news of the defeat of Braddock, many of his soldiers and teamsters took flight, and wagons and supplies were destroyed. More than 100 wagons were burned. Powder shells were thrown into the brook, and the whole command made an ignominious retreat to Fort Cumberland, 60 miles east. It is not quite certain whether the retreat was sounded by Dunbar or by someone else, but it is certain that it excited in the minds of the colonists the utmost indignation.

Braddock's strength was ebbing and he died at eight o'clock Sunday, July 13th. He was buried in the road. Washington read over his dead body the burial service from the Book of Common Prayer. Men, horses, and wagons passed over his grave so that it might not be discovered by the Indians.

The bad news of Braddock's utter defeat and rout quickly reached Philadelphia and the hopeful and confident Governor Dinwiddie at Williamsburg. Washington afterwards wrote: "Our poor Virginians behaved like men, and died like soldiers; for I believe that out of three companies that were there that day, scarce thirty were left alive. Captain Peroney and all his officers down to a corporal were killed. Captain Polson's company shared almost as hard a fate, for only one of them escaped. In short, the dastardly behavior of the English soldiers exposed all those who were inclined to do their duty to almost certain death. It is imagined (I believe with great justice, too) that two-thirds of both killed and wounded received their shots from our own cowardly dogs of soldiers, who gathered themselves into a body, contrary to orders, ten or twelve deep, would then level fire and shoot down the men before them."

Dinwiddie appealed to Dunbar to defend the frontier, but in vain. He left Fort Cumberland and marched to Philadelphia. His conduct, in leaving the frontier unguarded, seemed monstrous to Dinwiddie.

With the defeat of Braddock and the ignominious retreat of Dunbar, the whole frontier was left unguarded. The French claim to the Mississippi valley was undisputed. White settlers on the frontier were subjected to many outrages from the savages.

V.

WASHINGTON WITH THE FORBES EXPEDITION; HIS FOURTH JOURNEY

With the dawn of the year 1758 things looked very much brighter for the English cause. That great constructive statesman, Pitt, was now at the head of the government. Three expeditions planned by him against the French were well organized and well planned and obtained provincial support. Louisburg had fallen before Amherst's army; Ticonderoga had narrowly escaped capture through the failure of Abercrombie.

Gen. John Forbes, a Scotchman and veteran soldier, was sent out against Fort Duquesne. The western frontier had, since Braddock's defeat, been ravished by the Indians, and now the colonies were much more ready to support and co-operate with the British army for the capture of Fort Duquesne. By order of Pitt, the provincial officers took equal rank with those of the British army, according to grade. This itself did away with a great source of irritation and confusion which was felt in the previous campaign.

Forbes recognized well the great advantage of pacifying the Indians, and this he proceeded to do by sending out in advance of the army one Frederick Post, a Moravian missionary, who spoke several Indian dialects and who had married an Indian woman. He stood high in the estimation of the Indians. This dangerous mission, which meant death should he be captured by the French, was undertaken by this simple, devout Christian, who believed he was undertaking the work of God. Post's mission was most successful, for he did much to pacify the Indians. The Delawares and the Shawnees were particularly disaffected because of the attack on Kittanning, which had been made by Col. Armstrong in 1756, during which a number of Indians had been killed.

Forbes' army began its march early in the year, Col. Boquet, a brilliant Swiss officer, being second in command. Among the other officers were Col. Armstrong, commanding the provincials from Pennsylvania, and Washington in command of the Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina troops, which had been assembled at Winchester. Raystown (now Bedford) was reached early in June and the erection of a fort, which was called after the Duke of Bedford, was begun. And now disputes arose as to which route should be traveled from Raystown to Fort Duquesne. Washington strongly advocated the route followed by Braddock, but Forbes, swayed by Boquet and Armstrong, favored a new route through Pennsylvania. Finally this route was decided upon, Forbes and

Boquet believing it furnished a shorter path to Fort Duquesne and could be subsequently used to advantage by the settlers; and 1,700 of Boquet's men were set to work in cutting down trees and underbrush to construct this new road through the mountains.

Forbes, delayed in Philadelphia and Carlisle by illness, finally joined the troops at Raystown on September 9th. His forces now included about 6,000 men, and he marched forward with extreme caution.

While on the march he was startled by the news that Colonel Grant, who had started from Raystown by permission of Boquet, had suffered a defeat within a mile of Fort Duquesne while reconnoitering. The English lost 273 men in this engagement and Grant himself, the leader, was captured. The French loss was insignificant. The French, emboldened by this victory, advanced and attacked Boquet at Raystown, October 12th, with a force of 1,200. They were repulsed with considerable loss.

Forbes' army finally left Raystown and reached the Loyalhanna Creek November 1st. Though ill and suffering tortures of disease, Forbes, carried on a litter, went with the army. The Indians called him the "Iron Head." A council of war was held. On account of the lateness of the season, some held the attack should be postponed until spring. But it was learned from three French prisoners, who had been captured, that the force at Fort Duquesne had recently been quietly reduced by the departure of troops for other French forts, and it was decided to march forward at once. Washington was sent in advance of the main army to open the road. A few days later Col. Armstrong pushed forward with a large force to assist Washington, and on the 17th Forbes followed with 4,300 men. Tents and heavy baggage were left behind.

On November 23rd, waiting for news from the Indians who had been sent forward to reconnoitre, General Forbes received a report that a thick cloud of smoke was seen rising over the fort and extending over the Allegheny River bottom. At midnight the sentinels were startled by a heavy explosion in the distance, and an hour later the Indian scouts arrived and brought the news that the French had abandoned the fort, to which they set fire; and the explosion heard was due to the ignition of the magazine.

The next morning the army moved forward and occupied the site of the smoking fort, which, in honor of the great Prime Minister of Great Britain, who had planned the expedition, was called Fort Pitt. A temporary fort was erected at once, which was garrisoned by 200 men under Col. Hugh Mercer, and Forbes' army marched back to the east of the mountains.

The story of how Fort Pitt was held and rebuilt in a substantial way the following year by Gen. Stanwix, and its successive fortunes, need not now detain us.

WASHINGTON'S INTEREST IN COMMERCE AND REAL ESTATE;

HIS FIFTH AND SIXTH JOURNEYS

In 1770 Washington, accompanied by Dr. Craik and Wm. Crawford, and for part of the way by Col. Croghan, made a visit to Western Pennsylvania, reaching Fort Pitt on October 17th, for the purpose of viewing and locating lands on the Ohio for himself and associates, which land had been given under grant of Governor Dinwiddie in 1754, to encourage enlistment of a sufficient force of soldiers to build and hold a fort at the forks of the Ohio. By consent of His Majesty's council, the governor had promised as pay 2,000 acres of land on the east side of the Ohio to the volunteers of this expedition. This grant pretty nearly failed because of lack of legislation to allot these various portions to those to whom it belonged. And it is almost solely due to Washington that these lands were properly located and portioned to those who had rightly earned them. The expedition which he made in 1770 was entirely at his own expense. Washington's knowledge of the Ohio country and its potential possibilities are well shown by a series of letters exchanged (1767-1781) between Col. Wm. Crawford and himself. Crawford was a native of Virginia and one of Washington's boyhood friends who, at the time of this correspondence, was living at Stewart's Crossing in what is now Fayette county. The following extracts from Washington's diary of his trip of 1770 speaks for themselves:

"October 17th.—Dr. Craik and myself, with Captain Crawford and others, arrived at Fort Pitt, distant from Crossing forty-three and a half measured miles. In riding this distance we passed over a great deal of exceedingly fine land, chiefly white oak, especially from Sewickley Creek to Turtle Creek, but the whole broken, resembling, as I think, all the land in this country do the Londoun lands. We lodged in what is called the town, distant about three hundred yards from the fort, at one Mr. Semple's, who keeps a very good house of public entertainment.* The houses, which are built of logs and ranged in streets, are on the Monongahela, and suppose may be about twenty in number and inhabited by Indian traders. The fort is built on the point between the Rivers Allegheny and Monongahela, but not so near the pitch of it as Fort Duquesne stood. It is five-sided and regular, two of which near the land are of brick, the other stockade. A moat encompasses it. The garrison consists of two companies of Royal Irish, commanded by Captain Edmondson.

* At the corner of Water and Ferry (Craig's History of Pittsburgh).

"18th.—Dined in the fort with Col. Croghan and the officers of the garrison. Supped there also, meeting with great civility from the gentlemen, and engaged to dine with Col. Croghan the next day at his seat, about four miles up the Allegheny."

On the 19th, Washington received a message from Col. Croghan that the White Mingo and other chiefs of the six nations wished to speak to him. He went to meet them and received a string of wampum and a speech, saying, that as he was a person some of them remembered and most of them had heard of, they wished to welcome him and desired that the people of Virginia should consider them as friends and brothers. They feared that they were not looked upon in this way, as they did not trade with them much, etc.

Washington replied he was sure the people of Virginia desired their friendship, but they did not trade much like the people of Pennsylvania. The diary continues: "After dining at Col. Croghan's we returned to Pittsburgh, Col. Croghan with us, who intended to accompany us part of the way down the river, having engaged an Indian, called the Peasant, and one Jos. Nicholson, an interpreter, to attend us the whole voyage, also a young Indian warrior.

"November 22nd.—Stayed in Pittsburgh all day. Invited the officers and some other gentlemen to dinner with me at Semple's. Among them was one Dr. Connolly, a nephew of Col. Croghan, a very sensible, intelligent man, who had traveled over a good deal of this western country, both by water and land, and who confirmed Nicholson's account of good land on the Shawnee River, up which he had been near four hundred miles."

Washington again, in 1784, came to Western Pennsylvania for the purpose of looking into and locating various lands which had been granted to him or in which he was interested some way for others. At this time his holdings were very large, amounting to nearly 50,000 acres, mostly in the western country, and valued at over \$400,000. He had another object in view, also, which was to consider the possibility of connecting the Virginian rivers with branches of the Ohio so that Virginia might be enabled to successfully compete with Pennsylvania and New York in the way of transportation. He wrote many letters at this time to Governor Harrison of Virginia, setting forth the great importance of binding the nation together by adequate means of communication between the east and west.

He started on this journey September, 1784, accompanied by his friend and family physician, Dr. Jas. Craik. He has left a diary of this journey and made several maps which are still of much

interest.* In this diary, Washington makes many interesting observations as to routes of travel, value of river transportation, all of which show him as a statesman and a keen, far-sighted man of business. For instance, he says in one place "There is, in that state, at least 100,000 souls west of Laurel Hill, who are groaning under the inconvenience of a long land transportation. They are wishing, indeed, looking, for the extension of inland navigation, and if this cannot be made easy for them to Philadelphia, at any rate it must be lengthy, they will seek a Mart elsewhere; and none is so inconvenient as that which offers itself through the Youghiogheny or Cheat River, the certain consequence therefore of an attempt to restrain the extension of the navigation of these rivers (so consonant with the interest of these people), or to impose any extra duties upon the exports or imports to or from another state, would be a separation of the western settlers, from the old and more interior government, toward which there is not wanting a disposition at this moment in the former."

* Albert Gallatin, then residing at Friendship Hill, Fayette County, met Washington for the first time on this trip.

VII.

CONCLUSION

We must now bring to a close this brief sketch of the history of Western Pennsylvania in which Washington played a part. It will be remembered that on his first trip in 1753, when he bore Governor Dinwiddie's message to the French, he risked his life twice, once when he was shot at by an Indian and once when he fell from the raft in crossing the Allegheny. The next year his life was certainly endangered in the encounter with Jumonville; and in 1755 in the Braddock fight it is not too much to say that he risked his life many times. And while it does not appear that there was any imminent risk of his life in any of his three subsequent visits to Pennsylvania, yet even in these trips he encountered a certain measurable degree of danger.

His campaign in Pennsylvania fitted him for the career of soldier, which he subsequently followed. Here he learned the vastness of our country and saw far into the future its tremendous possibilities. The importance of the situation of the land at the point between the Allegheny and the Monongahela Rivers was at once apparent to him.

Surely there is no man who is so intimately connected with the history of Western Pennsylvania or who has risked and done so much for it as Washington. Had he never subsequently advanced to the great position of father of his country, he would be deserving of a lasting place in our history, worthy of our admiration and gratitude and a monument to his memory.

Washington's first visits to Western Pennsylvania were made when he was a young man of 21 to 26 years of age. It is this period of his life which more especially binds him to the history of Western Pennsylvania. And to my mind the most interesting and picturesque of all his visits was his first one when he was a youth of 21. I could wish this youth of 21 were reproduced in bronze, either alone or in company of Christopher Gist, and placed at some conspicuous point of our city, that the story of Washington, as I have once more attempted to bring before you, might be learned by our boys and girls and by the stranger within our gates.

I may remark that a statue in bronze of the great Franklin has been erected on the campus of the University of Pennsylvania, representing him as a run-away youth of 17, as he appeared when he entered Philadelphia. I commend to the careful and thoughtful consideration of the members of this Society the suggestion that we take in hand the matter of erecting a similar statue of George Washington, representing him as he was as a youth of 21 years of age, when he acted as Governor Dinwiddie's messenger.

